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VOL. V, NO. 69
FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, MAY 19, 1917

Drawn by Nina E. Allender

Lost Illusions

"Mother, Isn't There Any Santa Claus?"
"No, Dear. It's Only Your Uncle Dressed Up."

National Woman's Party

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OBJECT: TO SECURE AN AMENDMENT TO THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION ENFRANCHISING WOMEN

MEMBERSHIP: Open to all women who, regarding woman suffrage as the foremost political issue of the day, will support it irrespective of the interests of any national political party.

ENTRANCE FEE: Twenty-five cents. There are no dues.

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Notes of the Week

The Safeguard of Justice and Peace

PRESIDENT WILSON met in Washington on May 15 one hundred and fifty British and American representatives of organized labor. This conference, to which Great Britain sent a Labor Commission, came together to talk over ways of handling wartime problems of industry.

To this important gathering, which included such men as Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, James Duncan of the American commission to Russia, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and Myron T. Herrick, former ambassador to France, the President made a stirring address on behalf of labor. He appealed for a voluntary cooperation of all men and women to fight this war, in which every standard of work and life shall be kept at the level we have reached and be lifted rather than lowered. He said:

"We are fighting for democracy in a larger sense than can be expressed in any political term. There are many forms of democratic government, and we are not fighting for any particular form, but we are fighting for the essential part of it all, namely, that we are all equally interested in our social and political life, and all have a right to a voice in the Government under which we live, and that when men and women are equally admitted to those rights we have the best safeguard of justice and peace that the world affords. There is no other safeguard."

These are memorable words. President Wilson has never so definitely taken a stand for out-and-out democracy for both men and women.

Irish Freedom

A RESOLUTION was this week introduced into the House of Representatives by Congressman Mason of Illinois declaring Irish freedom one of the reasons the United States has gone into the war. It commits the United States to stand for Home Rule in peace negotiations, to appoint a commission to Ireland if the Irish people wish it, and to buy $100,000,000 worth of Irish government bonds.

The strong feeling in Congress for Irish freedom is creditable to the principles of democracy the war has led Congress to formulate and is good omen of the definite support Congress will give democracy for women when the federal amendment is brought up for passage.

Swallowing the Camel

IN a war that elects democracy as the principle there ought to be a different condition in some of the lands which are allied to the principle. The United States, which in a real sense is about to fight for the security of the United States, and in equally real sense is about to fight for the principle of democracy, would fight better if the allies to which it is joined were better established in consistency.

We do not like to stutter when we proclaim principles, and some stuttering is necessary in the United States when now we are asked to fight for principles which are not being applied, within the rational limits of application, by our allies."

The Chicago *Tribune* in an editorial of May 5 thus criticizes England for thwarting Irish independence. No one feels more strongly the whole progress of democracy in the world, or is more eager to see democracy work out fully for oppressed peoples or oppressed classes, than suffragists, who look upon women's enfranchisement merely as one great step in the whole movement. But nothing can be more amusing to them than the self-righteousness of the many Americans who now complacently assuming the United States brand of democracy flawless lift pious eyes above about sixteen million women excluded from self-government and clamor for democracy in Ireland, Germany, Poland and everywhere but their own country.

The Connecticut Amendment

THE lower house of the Connecticut legislature has passed a suffrage referendum bill. The bill does not go to the Senate this session, and must get a two-thirds majority in both houses of the legislature next session before going to the voters for the final decision.

Votes for English Women

THE English franchise reform bill providing for women's enfranchisement was introduced into the House of Commons on May 15 by Walter H. Long, Secretary of State for the Colonies.

The bill is drawn upon the recommendations of the Speaker's Electoral Reform Conference and gives the vote to women over thirty, with property qualifications a little higher than those required of men. There is strong feeling in England that the temper of Parliament in regard to the bill will be so definitely democratic in response to public feeling that these limitations upon the franchise will be done away with during consideration of the bill. In any case the advance is a tremendous one for women, and full suffrage would be bound to follow this move quickly.

Other sections of the bill provide for proportional representation, the enfranchisement of soldiers and sailors, the same day for elections throughout the country, and other democratic reforms of the franchise.

Mr. Long in presenting the bill declared that the government will do its best to bring about its adoption.

As chairman of the Imperial War Conference he urged Parliament to dispose of all electoral problems as soon as possible so that no domestic questions shall disturb the country after the war and England can progress as a unit.

The Situation in Sweden

A BILL for equal and universal suffrage has been introduced into the Swedish Riksdag by the Social Democratic Party. The earnestness of the times, increasing taxes, the diminishing value of money and the great misery among masses of the people were pointed out in connection with the bill as demanding the united efforts of all citizens of Sweden.

The Mayor of Stockholm has brought in twelve bills concerning a revision of the Constitution. The first of these amendments is—suffrage for women.

The Social Democratic Party, the Liberal Party, and the most valuable section of the press are supporting women's claims strongly.

Progress for Italian Women

THE Minister of Justice has presented to the Italian Chamber a bill to do away with the limits Italian law sets to women's civil rights. This bill has to do with the abolition of marital authorization and of the almost complete incapacity of women for guardianship. Marital authority is now necessary for a wife's use of her capital in any way or for selling or mortgaging real estate.

This is the first bill of this kind introduced by the government though five others have been presented privately. The minister moving it pointed out that the passage of this bill "will in this grave period of our history have a high moral significance, since it will constitute an act of justice, of reparation almost, to which women have now more right than ever."

Women's associations of all kinds have made a formal appeal to the minister sponsoring the bill that it go further and allow women to enter all professions and fill all public offices for which they are qualified. The minister gave his personal approval to these proposals and said they would be laid before the parliamentary commission examining the bill.

Democracy in Germany

GEORGE LEDEBOUR, Socialist leader in Germany, declared on May 15 to the Reichstag that a revolution must come in Germany as it has come in Russia.

"We must soon introduce a republic in Germany," he said, "and we shall propose that a constitutional committee take preparatory steps in that direction."

The Woman's Party Organizes Florida Branch

WITH a powerful branch of the National Woman's Party formed in Florida this week, a long step in advance has been taken in the permanent organization of the South for federal suffrage. Miss Alice Paul, National Chairman of the Woman's Party, spoke at the state conference at which the Florida organization was formed, making a profound impression, and was afterward urged to speak in Miami.

The Miami Woman's Club, the largest women's organization in Florida, gave Miss Paul a luncheon the day of her arrival in Miami and later listened to her close-knit analysis of the present national suffrage situation.

Florida demonstrated from the moment Mrs. E. St. Clair Thompson, organizer for the Southern states, entered that state four weeks ago that it was in the advance group of the South in regard to the federal enfranchisement of women. Prior to the Florida conference Mrs. Thompson spoke on the history of the suffrage battle in this country up to the final intensive campaign for federal recognition of women in the larger cities of Florida and at many state gatherings, notably the convention of Florida educators who endorsed the work of the Woman's Party and appealed to the President for the passage of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment.

THE state conference of the Woman's Party held in Jacksonville in the banquet room of the Seminole Hotel on May 9, with Mrs. Sue V. Moore, President of the Equal Suffrage League of Cocoanut Grove and founder of the first suffrage organization in Miami, presiding. A large audience with prominent women not only from Jacksonville but other parts of the state attended, anxious to hear the federal suffrage case stated by the National Chairman of the national suffrage group.

Miss Laura M. Begg, on behalf of the Jacksonville Equal Suffrage Association, welcomed the conference to Jacksonville. "Those principles for which you stand are dear to our hearts," declared Miss Begg. "Our suffrage bill was defeated by the state legislature of Florida by a vote of six in the House. Yet I feel that if we can pass the federal suffrage amendment, Florida will have the honor of being one of the first states to ratify it. Our hearts are with you in this work.

"Surely the women of the United States do not want to see even 'benighted Russia' excel them in democracy. Our sister, Canada in the north, has found it to her advantage since the war to grant the right of suffrage to women. . . .

"We know that our fight for suffrage will never be given up until it is won. Why not make it possible to accomplish this result more quickly by uniting our forces with the National Woman's Party, thus making our dream come true so much sooner? I want to see the women of Florida come to the front in this work . . . and prove Florida's right to the title of the most progressive state in the Union."

Mrs. St Clair Thompson, coming from the Blue Ridge section of North Carolina, embodied in her address the ideas of the Southern woman combined with the progressive spirit which she declared the present stressful time demands.

"It is our Southern delegations," said Mrs. Thompson, "that are holding the federal amendment back, though they should be the very ones to favor it." She spoke with feeling of the fact that the negro children of the South were being educated, black mammies bending over washtubs to give them opportunity, while the poor whites in many sections still allowed their children to be exploited in the fields from the age of six years. "You men of the South need the white women of the South to help you solve such a problem as this," she declared.

Mrs. A. Leight Monroe
Chairman of Florida Branch

MISS PAUL gave in brief the history of the suffrage battle in this country from 1848, reviewing the hard-fought gains in the various states that now make the larger demand for all women possible.

In advocating "suffrage first and now" as a war measure, she pointed out that in case of a war of long duration a large share of the burden would fall on the women of the nation, who, while they would meet these responsibilities heroically, could not help a feeling of bitterness over their disenfranchisement. She repeated Senator Jones' plea for three important war measures: conscription, prohibition and national suffrage, and declared that we must at this time prove within this country that we are waging a war for democracy.

In commenting on the tone of the meeting the *Miami Metropolis* says: "There was no haranguing—just plain matter-of-fact, straight-from-the-shoulder talks by the women speakers. They did not lift their voices; the calmness of their tone and complete balance added to the force of their appeals. . . . Not suffrage arguments, but the more advanced position of how to secure national suffrage, was the general topic."

FOLLOWING a banquet these officers were elected for the state of Florida from a slate brought in by a nominating committee made up of Mrs. J. D. Alderman, chairman, Mrs. Ben Coachman, Miss Trida Weil, Mrs. H. I. Niviens and Mrs. Harvey Barker:

Mrs. A. Leight Monroe, Miami, state chairman; Mrs. Hannah Detwiler Bonnet, Jacksonville, first vice-chairman; Mrs. Sue V. Moore, Cocoanut Grove, second vice-chairman; Mrs. A. C. Muhse, third vice-chairman; Miss Laura Begg, Jacksonville, fourth vice-chairman; Miss Helen Hunt, Jacksonville, secretary; Mrs. Edith Waas, Jacksonville, treasurer.

At the first meeting of the Florida committee, held the following day, Mrs. J. D. Alderman was appointed membership chairman for the state, with Miss Marjory Stoneman Douglas of Miami as press chairman.

Mrs. Monroe, the elected state chairman, is President of the Miami Woman's Club, the largest woman's organization in Florida. The wife of Dr. A. Leight Monroe, Mrs. Monroe is one of the best-known women in Florida. She was responsible for the building of the Miami Woman's Club Building, and is head of the State Board of Education. Zealous for the advance of her city she originated a unique loan system of books privately owned. Never before connected in an executive capacity with a suffrage organization, she will in the future devote all her time to the work of the Florida Woman's Party. There is no woman in the state with a broader grasp of Southern conditions combined with so active a progressive spirit.

Mrs. Bion H. Barnett, a member of the National Advisory Council of the Woman's Party, is one of the prominent women of Jacksonville, identified with the Florida Red Cross and philanthropic activities. She has been connected with the federal suffrage work since joining the Congressional Union as a visitor to the suffrage booth at the San Francisco Exposition.

Miss Helen Hunt, state secretary, is a young college graduate who is at present studying law. Her grandfather was a Georgia congressman, and her father is a member of one of the National Defense Committees.

Party Moves in the West, the South and East

California War Conference Decides to Push for Suffrage

THE California branch of the National Woman's Party at a special conference by an overwhelming majority voted to continue active work for the enfranchisement of all women in this country through the Susan B. Anthony amendment. This large meeting in which the pro and con of suffrage as a war measure was threshed out was held at the St. Francis Hotel, San Francisco, May 5, with Mrs. Ida Finney Mackrille, state chairman, presiding.

Miss Margaret Whittemore and Miss Margery Ross, who have been touring the West in their "Suffrage Ford" for the past few weeks, made earnest appeals for continued work in the West, especially in California. A plan for district organization was drawn up at this conference, which has been followed up by energetic meetings in Oakland, Berkeley and Alameda, the Bay centres.

Sara Bard Field was enthusiastically welcomed and told the dramatic story of the great deputation to the President when she carried the Inez Milholland memorials to the President from various cities, including San Francisco. Mrs. Frederick Thompson, who was a delegate to the National Convention in Washington, gave an impressionistic account of that conference with its climactic march around the White House in a storm of rain. Mrs. Thompson told of her determination at that time to bring the knowledge of the President's opposition to suffrage before the women of her state, and told of her humiliation that day when he passed through the soaked line of protesting women apparently unseeingly.

"I have not let one opportunity slip," said Mrs. Thompson, "when I could tell women of that day."

A resolution asking for the passage of the suffrage amendment as a measure of war-time justice as important as any other emergency measure was passed, and through the effort of Mrs. Eleanor Carlisle, legislative chairman for California, this was ordered printed and sent to all the women's organizations of the state for adoption and signatures.

Miss Gail Laughlin made the thrilling appeal of the session when she declared that the great principle of democracy must be kept alive at this time even in the face of war.

The resolution calling for action which was passed by the California Committee follows:

"Now when the United States is engaged in a great war for the ideals of liberty and democracy, a war in which the women of the nation equally with the men will do, and are freely doing, their full part, we call upon Congress at the present session to submit forthwith to the several states for ratification an amendment to the Constitution of the United States guaranteeing suffrage to women, and thereby grant liberty to the women of our land, establish a real democracy within our own borders, and decree that those who bear their full share of the burdens of government in time of peace and in time of war, shall also share in the privileges of government." "Signed—California State Executive Committee."

Alabama and Texas Activities

THE organization of the South for federal suffrage is proving one of the most dramatic moves ever undertaken by the Woman's Party. For the past few weeks Miss Beulah Amidon has been speaking at gatherings in Alabama to arouse interest in the state conference of the Woman's Party which is to be held next week in Birmingham, and at which Miss Alice Paul, National Chairman of the Woman's Party, is to be the leading speaker.

Miss Amidon has opened headquarters at the Tutwiler Hotel, where from under a canopy of Woman's Party banners, thousands of calls to the state conference are being sent to every corner of the state. The advent of Miss Paul has aroused great interest in the conference, even many opponents of suffrage expressing interest in her personality as leader of the federal amendment movement.

Mrs. E. St. Clair Thompson, field secretary of the Woman's Party for the Southern states, will precede Miss Paul to Birmingham, and will also be a speaker at the conference, which local women are assisting in forming. It is Mrs. Thompson's plan at present to follow up the organization of Alabama with Mississippi and Louisiana.

It is her hope to have local leaders in charge of the work in every Southern state before the death of the present emergency Congress. With the adjournment of Congress a whirlwind swing through the South will be staged, with brilliant federal suffrage campaigners speaking in every state at meetings arranged by local committees. Miss Maud Younger of California will be among these speakers.

The Southern organization is not being allowed to die down in any organized state.

Under the capable chairmanship of Mrs. Clara Snell Wolfe of Austin, Texas, the district organization of Texas is going steadily forward. Mrs. Wolfe has lately spoken in many of the larger cities of the state for the purpose of strengthening the district organizations. In Houston last week Mrs. Wolfe conducted meetings through many organizations, speaking at the Young Women's Christian Association, the Community Center, the Women's Business and Professional Club, the College Women's Club, and at the noon hour at many factories where women were employed.

Mrs. L. Crozier French, state chairman for the Woman's Party in Tennessee is rousing marked response in Tennessee women by urging women to press for the adoption of federal suffrage before the present great battle for world democracy is over leaving in its wake a hundred readjustments to be struggled with. Mrs. William I. Thomas, the wife of Professor Thomas of Chicago University, was last week the speaker at a stirring meeting for federal suffrage, in which she recounted the coming of Representative Rankin to Washington, and just what having one who had really "come to fight with us" meant to the women of this country.

Organization Advance in Pennsylvania and Rhode Island

ALIVE organization meeting for the Woman's Party was held this week in Sunbury, Pennsylvania, at the Central Hotel, drawing together suffragists of the Sixteenth Congressional District of that state. Miss Iris Calderhead, national organizer for the Woman's Party, had aroused much enthusiasm in the district by her series of meetings previous to the organization conference at which Miss Mabel Vernon of Delaware, national secretary of the Woman's Party, was the speaker.

"While we were conferring with the negotiating envoys concerning our position as one of the allies in this fight for freedom, " said Miss Vernon, "one hundred and thirty-two Congressmen, among them Champ Clark, Claude Kitchin and Chairman Webb of the Judiciary Committee, were cabling to Lloyd-George a protest on behalf of the Irish fight for freedom.

"How can American statesmen honestly cable to England to extend home rule, and do nothing themselves, though it is within their power, to extend home rule to American women?" asked Miss Vernon.

Mrs. Johnson of Milton as chairman of the nominating committee presented the names of the district officers. The following women were elected unanimously: Miss Mabel T. Stecker of Milton, chairman; Mrs. Hannah Priestly Catlin of Northumberland, first vice-chairman; Miss Hannah Lorenz of Shamokin, second vice-chairman; Mrs. Harry S. Knight of Sunbury, third vice-chairman; and Mrs. Eva M. Knauer of Milton, secretary and treasurer. Money was immediately pledged to begin the work in the district.

THE first Rhode Island conference of the Woman's Party has been called for next week, that this smallest but most progressive of Eastern states may at once, with its presidential suffrage leverage, begin to bring pressure to bear for the suffrage amendment at this time as a war measure.

Miss Mildred Gilbert, national organizer for the Woman's Party, has been in the state several weeks, crystalizing the interest already aroused in the federal suffrage work. She is being assisted in her organization work by Mrs. Agnes H. Morey of Boston, state chairman of Massachusetts and Miss Katherine Morey with a committee of local women. A luncheon will precede the conference proper, with a business session to follow. Women from many cities in the state are showing interest in the conference and will attend.

Miss Lucy Burns of New York, a member of the national executive committee of the Woman's Party, will be the principal speaker at the conference luncheon. Mrs. Robert Baker of Washington, D. C. is also going to Providence to speak at the luncheon.

THE SUSAN B. ANTHONY AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

Introduced

In the Senate, on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.
In the House, on April 2, 1917 by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating and Hayden.

Referred

In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.
In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916. Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).
March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

Present Status

In the Senate

Before the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

In the House

Before the Judiciary Committee.

The Suffragist

Editors

Miss Vivian Pierce — Miss Pauline Clarke

Associate Editors

Mrs. Mary Beard
Mrs. Florence Brewer Boeckel
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Mrs. Gilson Gardner
Miss Pauline Jacobson
Miss Fola La Follette

Cartoonist, Mrs. Nina E. Allender

Business Department

Advertising, Miss Hazel Hunkins — *Circulation,* Miss Elizabeth Smith — *Office,* Miss Bliss Finley

Subscription, Domestic $1.00, *Foreign* $1.50. *Single copies 5 cents. Make checks, drafts and post-office orders payable to The Treasurer of the National Woman's Party*

Columbian Printing Company, Inc., Washington, D. C.

35

Entered as second-class matter, Nov. 14, 1913, at the Postoffice at Washington, D. C., under act of March 3, 1879

The End in Sight

PRESIDENT WILSON'S interview on May 4 with the committee on federal suffrage appointed from the Progressive Convention points out sharply the distance he has come toward outright support of the federal amendment. The President has been driven almost to the point of taking up the amendment.

It was only four years ago, in March, 1913, that he told a deputation of suffragists that suffrage was a question to which he had given no thought. A year later he had thought the question out so far as to believe in suffrage won state by state. At that point his mind halted until 1916, when he began to give other and changing reasons for his reluctance to give up blocking the amendment in Congress.

The deputation which interviewed the President this week brought out the fact that he has come to accept the federal route for suffrage. His position now is evidently that of waiting for the time that seems best to him for action. His attitude is that of a party leader toward a matter pressing politically for his attention. The reason is clear.

Five minority parties, besides the Woman's Party pledged to this one plank, have taken up political cudgels in strong defense of national action on suffrage. These six groups comprise millions of voters—the Progressive Party, the Socialist Party, the Prohibition Party, the Progressive Democrats, the Progressive Republicans, and the National Woman's Party. They bring telling weight when they come with a demand to the Administration.

The minority parties, whose task it is always to teach new things and to agitate the party in power toward them, have clearly made their mark in this instance. The President showed in this interview that as leader of the Democratic Party he is thoroughly aroused to the pressure for federal suffrage. It is plain that he feels a political force behind the demand for the Administration's support that will menace his party if he does not appease it.

President Wilson knows that diplomatic words will not appease the force that is more and more strongly demanding action. He knows that a letter to the Chairman of the Rules Committee in favor of a suffrage committee in the House will not appease it. He knows that nothing will satisfy the demand of voters for this reform but the Administration's earnest support of the measure which will make its success certain.

The President is now well aware of this truth. He will not want to delay much longer in acting upon it.

A War Conference with the President

A GROUP of progressive leaders were received by President Wilson this week for the purpose of discussing the passage of the federal suffrage amendment as part of the present war program. The Committee, which had been appointed by the Progressive Convention of last month included Mr. J. A. H. Hopkins of the Progressive Party, as Chairman; Dr. E. A. Rumely, of the Progressive Republican Party, vice-president of the New York *Mail;* Mr. John Spargo of the Socialist Party; Mr. Virgil Hinshaw, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Prohibition Party, and Miss Mabel Vernon, secretary of the Woman's Party.

The Committee was received in the Green Room of the White House. The meeting, which lasted half an hour, was one of the utmost informality and friendliness. The party was seated in a semi-circle around the President. Each of the men present, representing, as minority parties, large groups of independent-minded men and women, spoke earnestly to the President about the lack of democracy in the present Congress withholding suffrage from women at this critical time.

Progressive Committee on the Federal Amendment

From left to right—Mr. J. A. H. Hopkins, Miss Mabel Vernon, Mr. Virgil Hinshaw, Mr. John Spargo, Dr. E. A. Rumely

J. A. H. HOPKINS, as Chairman of the group, explained the purpose of the audience which had been asked saying:

"We desire to call your attention, Mr. President, to the fact that the other nations of the world, and especially those with whom we are now allied, in a war having for its object the establishment of a permanent world-democracy, have realized the justice and necessity of granting universal suffrage to men and women alike, and have at last, at least inferentially, admitted the error of their ways in not having heretofore taken action on this matter.

"We desire to urge upon you as President, and as the leader of the party now in power, with all the earnestness at our command, the justice and desirability of immediate action by the Congress of the United States to the end that the Susan B. Anthony amendment be immediately passed and enacted into law."

JOHN SPARGO pointed out that the time had passed when suffrage had to be justified.

"Mr. President, the struggle that we have undertaken to wage in order that the world may be a safe place for democracy," he said finally, "will be all the easier to wage, and the more certain of speedy success, if our own nation is made truly democratic. Every undemocratic institution and condition which we permit to go unchallenged and unreformed must be a serious obstacle to us in a war to establish democracy throughout the world.

"Surely there is no need to wait, to linger, and later on to make tardy recognition of a right as clear and as obvious now as it ever can be."

MISS MABEL VERNON of the Woman's Party, the only woman member of the committee, made a moving appeal to the President, quoting to him his own words in his celebrated war message and visibly affecting the Chief Executive:

"Mr. President," said Miss Vernon, "the feelings of many women in this country are best expressed by your own words in your war message to Congress when you said: 'We shall fight for the things we have always carried nearest our hearts, for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments.'

"To every woman who reads that message must come at once this question: If the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments is so sacred in the case of foreign peoples as to constitute a reason for entering upon an international war in its defense, will you not, Mr. President, give immediate aid to the measure before Congress extending self-government to the women of this country?"

MISS VERNON gave this description of the interview: "After the members of the Committee had spoken, the President in an extremely frank manner discussed his view of the suffrage situation.

He admitted at the outset that suffrage is a question which is constantly pressing upon his mind for reconsideration, and he showed no sign of being determined upon the state by state method, as he has appeared to be in previous interviews. In fact he gave every evidence of accepting the federal route.

"The President said frankly that the lines were well laid for the carrying out of a program in this session of Congress in which suffrage, he intimated, has not been included and expressed his belief that the introduction of the question at this time might complicate matters. He seems to feel, however, that the coming of war has put the enfranchisement of women on a new basis.

"He showed his appreciation of the rapid gains suffrage has made through the country when he said, 'Suffrage is no longer creeping, but advancing by strides.'

"The President told the committee as proof of his willingness, as he said, to help suffrage in every little way,' that he had written a letter to Representative Pou, Chairman of the Rules Committee of the House, saying he would favor the creation of a Woman Suffrage Committee.

"While this is indeed very little assistance for the President to render, nevertheless it is the first time he has moved openly in behalf of national action on woman suffrage and gives hope that he will soon be giving real support to the amendment. The President says he is 'reconsidering.' By this he can mean nothing else than that he is considering the advisability of taking a stand for national woman suffrage. After this interview I am convinced that the President will soon urge upon Congress the immediate passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment."

Suffrage before the Emergency Congress

SUFFRAGE as a war measure laid before the Judiciary Committee of a war Congress took on an aspect of national importance this week when representatives of all parties urged the immediate consideration of the Susan B. Anthony amendment. The hearing was held May 15 in the House Office Building, and was announced as the only hearing the federal amendment will be granted before the present emergency Congress.

The fact that the same progressive leaders had only the day before been heard in regard to suffrage by the President and carried from the White House definite hope for the enfranchisement of the women of the nation, made their appearance before the Judiciary Committee significant.

These men and the one woman appointed on the Progressive Committee in the St. Louis Convention were J. A. H. Hopkins of New Jersey, Progressive; Dr. E. A. Rumely of New York, Progressive Republican; Virgil Hinshaw of the Executive Board of the Prohibition Party; John Spargo of the Socialist Party; and Miss Mabel Vernon, Secretary of the Woman's Party. In addition to this committee a group of the Woman's Party leaders spoke, including Mrs. William H. Kent of California, Mrs. John Rogers of New York, Mrs. Donald R. Hooker of Maryland, Miss Lucy Burns of New York, Miss Anne Martin of Nevada, and Mrs. Robert Baker of the District of Columbia.

SINCE the last hearing before the Judiciary Committee six additional states in this Union have granted presidential suffrage to women, and almost as many foreign nations at war are considering suffrage as a necessary measure of justice to women. This realization threw a sobriety over the hearing. It partook of drama. There was a thrilling quality of emergency in many of the appeals of both men and women, and the Committee listened to this exposition that touched on every angle of the present national suffrage situation with a respect they had never before brought to the consideration of national woman suffrage.

The Woman's Party hearing preceded the Progressive Committee's, while that group was being heard before the Senate Suffrage Committee. With Chairman Webb presiding, a fact that forcibly reminded many of the large audience of the former hearing in 1915, Mrs. William Kent introduced the Woman's Party, with one plank, national woman suffrage, and the first speaker, Mrs. John Rogers of New York.

Mrs. Rogers ably illustrated the fact that suffrage has become a war measure by citing the effect of war abroad where the electorate is about to be enlarged in the warring nations—in France where the woman suffrage measure is pending; in Germany, where it is at present before the Reichstag; in Russia, where the new government demands it; in England, where it is pending in parliament with Government support; and in Canada, where six provinces are now enfranchised. Mrs. Rogers pointed out the tremendous advance made in our own country, and the fact the enfranchised states themselves are demanding action by Congress. She finally quoted the words of Lord Northcliffe, the one-time bitter enemy of "votes for women."

"'The old arguments against giving women suffrage were that they were useless in war. But we have found that we could not carry on the war without them. They are running many of our industries, and their services may be justly compared to those of our soldiers.'

"It has taken England 1900 years to find this out," said Mrs. Rogers. "You men sit here in Congress and plan to take our sons and husbands and every cent in our pockets. Yet you say to us: 'Do not be selfish; do not ask anything of the government now, but do your part'."

MRS. DONALD HOOKER brought out the point that women, left to do men's work during the war, must have all the protection possible. "The only sure protection of a worker at a machine is the organized protection of the government behind him and his own franchise which controls that." She told of the attempts of states to abrogate school attendance laws and child labor laws at this time, to prove that mothers need the ballot as much as workers.

Referring to the suffrage picket Representative Neeley quoted a protest, saying that like tactics on the part of men would send them to jail, and asked Mrs. Hooker's opinion.

"You want to lock me up?" asked Mrs. Hooker, proclaiming her pride in being a picket. "I do not think that picketing is any worse than the things that men have done to win their freedom. As a matter of fact they have done much worse; instead of banners, men have carried guns."

MISS ANNE MARTIN, vice-chairman of the Woman's Party, in a forthright political talk stated the position of the Woman's Party in relation to their past political record and their possible future record, and aroused a healthful measure of protest from the Representatives she addressed. After summing up the impossibility of amending state constitutions Miss Martin said:

"My purpose is to suggest to you at this time that the votes of women in 1918 will be used to show their approval or disapproval of the conduct of this war and its related measures by this Congress. The Democratic Party has everything to gain and nothing to lose by putting the federal suffrage amendment through now. A large part of the electorate in 1918 and a large part of the electorate in 1920, will be composed of women."

Cross-questioned by a Committee obviously worried by her political far-sightedness and untroubled retorts, Miss Martin made it plain that the coalition of the South and West that carried the last election could not be repeated if we were not treated more fairly than in the last campaign, and drew the attention of the Committee to the fact that women had voted for the present administration because of spurious campaign promises in regard to suffrage; because they were led to suppose President Wilson believed in full suffrage, and would also 'keep us out of war.'

She analyzed the Washington and Illinois victories and drew from Representative Carraway the acid protest: "If you kept a great state like Illinois from the Democratic column, why should we support you?"

"We have more power than we had last election," answered Miss Martin serenely, and in response to another question went on, "I cannot make any promises. The submission of the suffrage bill is simply a question of political wisdom. You consider how certain groups can be placated before an election and you adopt a platform to gain the support of large groups. I merely wish to present for your consideration the fact that the number of women voting is larger, that it is growing constantly, and that their interest must be considered by political parties who wish success. The last election was won in the West and South. You will have to consider what the West wants if you want to carry another election."

MISS BURNS made it plain that women at this time will not abandon suffrage for war work nor allow this government to persist in an undemocratic stand. In a splendid spirit of rebellion against the government's present attitude she declared that the question as to whether an unrepresentative government was worth the human sacrifice European peoples are making is being asked by those peoples and that one monarchy, Russia, has answered in the negative. Russia as a warning that we must live up to our ideals of democracy was the final note of this powerful plea.

Mrs. Robert Baker also emphasized the insincerity of our fight for democracy, making a dramatic personal plea as the mother of three sons enlisted for service. "We are putting ourselves," said Mrs. Baker, "in the ridiculous position of standing on the road shouting for democracy while the nations of the world are passing by and becoming truly democratic. . . . While Congress last month refused to conscript voteless boys, 20,000,000 women are being conscripted for service who have no voice in the government at all. It is unmanly on the part of any government to call on women for assistance on the one hand while refusing her justice on the other."

Mrs. Baker's plea ended the Woman's Party demand for immediate action. Their arguments had run the gamut from dramatic appeal to political handling of cold prophetic facts, had touched on all important phases of the great war as it is related to the women in this country; and the attitude of the Judiciary Committee, when the Progressive Committee, with Mr. Hopkins as Chairman, took the hearing in charge, was subdued.

MR. HOPKINS explained that his Committee, appointed in St. Louis at the Progressive Convention, had been sent to Washington to appeal to the House and Senate Committees as to the necessity of furthering suffrage at this time as a war measure.

"I feel there must be some good reason if you do not report the suffrage measure to Congress this session," said Mr. Hopkins. "If we do not put responsibility upon women at this time they will not arise to responsibility; and they will go into this war with sore hearts arising from such an injustice."

Mr. Hopkins and other previous speakers were accused by Representative Reavis of "coming to this committee with promises of political reward to the party in power if this resolution is passed." "I wanted," said the Congressman tartly, "to hear this matter discussed on principal, yet there has crept into all these proceedings promises of political preferment and threats of political punishment," he complained.

"You are mistaken," said Mr. Hopkins quietly. "I never made any promises of political reward, and I never will. If you report the suffrage bill to the House at this time we have reason to believe it will go through with a two-thirds vote. Assuming these facts, I consider that this Committee if they do not report it are responsible for being, not what people call 'slackers,' but for being what you might call blockers.

"To block a measure, assuming that it is a great moral measure which will be of benefit to the people at large in this crisis, is a very serious responsibility. I was very sorry to have one of your members say that because these women are doing their best to obtain their rights, simply because he thought their method wrong, that they ought to be arrested. It seems to me that attitude is not fair."

Chairman Webb at this point hastily protested that Representative Neeley had quoted a letter, not expressed his own opinion; and Representative Reavis, to change a disagreeable subject, asked Mr. Hopkins whether he thought, "assuming the sympathetic and tender nature of woman, she would be able to face the suffering entailed by the war as well as a man." Quite soberly Mr. Hopkins said he thought she would. "Would it not," persisted Reavis, "have a tendency to retard Congress if she were within the electorate constantly upbraiding us for doing things?" But Mr. Hopkins declined to be terrified by this prospect.

JOHN SPARGO in appealing for immediate action compared the long battle of women for the ballot with the fight men had made twenty years ago in his native country. He described the reception of Gladstone, liberator of the workers, in the coal mines he worked in as a child of ten, and pointed out that in this day when the war is releasing the nations of the old world to complete democracy this country cannot lag behind. Spargo's speech had a thrilling quality which held his audience breathless. Members of the committee, affecting boredom and preparing to leave, returned to their places and listened to the end with a profound attention to this socialist and economist who refused to talk of theoretic democracy.

MISS MABEL VERNON, national secretary of the Woman's Party and the only woman on the Progressive Committee, made a moving plea for democracy at this time.

"Certainly, Mr. Chairman," she said, "You must have some conception of the feelings of women as we are entering into a war of this character. Women have heard from the President of the United States in the war message which he delivered on the second of April to Congress that the purpose of this war is to make the world 'a safe place for democracy.' When they heard the President say in those wonderful words of his, 'We shall fight for the things we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the rights of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments,' thoughtful women must immediately have asked the question, 'If we care so much for democracy in this country that we enter into an international conflict in order to establish it, why do not we, the people here in America, immediately attend to our own affairs at home; why do we not establish a democracy where we have the power and the right to establish a democracy? Certainly a democracy cannot exist here in this land where one half of the people—the women of the nation—are at present disfranchised. If the women are to accept the words of the leader of our country as expressive of real convictions, those words must be backed up by action in the present Congress.

"If the women of this country are to have any heart whatever for this struggle for democracy, as it is called, those women must see the proof of good faith in this country."

Judiciary Committee of the House

Democrats

Edwin Y. Webb, North Carolina, Chairman
Charles C. Carlin, Virginia
Robert Y. Thomas, Jr., Kentucky
William L. Igoe, Missouri
Warren Gard, Ohio
Richard S. Whaley, South Carolina
Thaddeus H. Caraway, Arkansas
M. M. Neely, West Virginia
Henry J. Steele, Pennsylvania
J. Randall Walker, Georgia
Hatton W. Sumners, Texas
Joseph V. Flynn, New York

Republican

Andrew J. Volstead, Minnesota
John M. Nelson, Wisconsin
Dick T. Morgan, Oklahoma
George S. Graham, Pennsylvania
Walter M. Chandler, New York
Leonidas C. Dyer, Missouri
Joseph Walsh, Massachusetts
Charles F. Reavis, Nebraska
Walter W. Magee, New York

VIRGIL HINSHAW in analyzing the suffrage situation declared that women were justified in working for suffrage because it was an inherent right; and as an inherent right they were justified in using any methods they chose to win, whether those methods were political and held the party in power responsible, or whether they chose to hold banners and picket the gates of Congress. Most of Mr. Hinshaw's time was taken up by Representatives Webb and Carraway in a heated debate as to whether suffrage was an inherent right or a privilege, a debate in which Mr. Hinshaw scored.

PRIOR to the hearing before the Judiciary Committee the Progressive Committee, including J. A. H. Hopkins as chairman; Dr. E. A. Rumely, Mr. Virgil Hinshaw, John Spargo and Miss Mabel Vernon, also spoke before the Suffrage Committee of the Senate in the Senate Office Building, explaining the purpose of the appointment of the Committee, and stressing the importance of suffrage as a war measure.

In speaking of the present position of the United States John Spargo said: "Of all the nations engaged in this titanic conflict, the United States stands alone as the nation which has nothing to gain in any material sense from the war. . . .

"We are seeking in the words of President Wilson to make the world a safe place for democracy, and that is a splendid and august conception—a nation of one hundred million of people going into the most terrific conflict in history for no other purpose than to make secure democracy and the right of peoples to live their own lives in their own way. . . .

"Any undemocratic institution or undemocratic condition existing in this nation unreformed must of necessity be a very serious obstacle to us in the prosecution of that ideal.

"I know that if I were in the position that my wife is in today, an unenfranchised person, not a citizen but an inferior subject of a ruling citizen class, however I might desire to do it whenever I sought to serve my country there would be the deadening consciousness that it was not yet my country and I had not a share in it."

The other speakers covered the same ground they later went over before the Judiciary Committee, and were listened to with the utmost respect by Chairman Jones of the Senate Committee.

NOTE—The speeches of Mr. John Spargo and Miss Lucy Burns will be published in full in the following number of THE SUFFRAGIST.

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Comments of the Press

Indorsement

DUDLEY FIELD MALONE, former assistant secretary of state, and now collector of the port of New York, urges that Congress pass the national woman suffrage measure. He told the Senate Committee on Suffrage so.

Mr. Malone is a close personal friend of President Wilson, and his appearance today at the hearing granted by the committee to the National Woman's Party in behalf of the proposed amendment is not only his first definite indorsement of the measure but the first to come from any personal friend of the president.—*Lincoln, Ill., Courier-Herald, April* 27.

The House Suffrage Committee

REPRESENTATIVE RANKIN, of Montana, is the logical chairman for a House committee of woman suffrage, and with the general interest now awakened in equal suffrage, as proved by the presence of a Congresswoman in Washington, there is much reason for the creation of a suffrage committee.—*Pittsburgh, Pa., Chronicle, April* 2.

It Is Still Dim

IT seems important that there should be a free Poland embracing the territory in which Poles who want Polish national government should be free to have this national expression.

It seems important that there should be freedom for nationalities in Austria-Hungary and freedom for the electorate in Germany.

We can find plenty of reasons for insisting that the war shall free the Armenians from the Turks, shall give Greece a republic, Russia a democracy, Belgium an assurance of integrity, France a promise of security, and that it shall enable the statue of Liberty in New York harbor to shine undimmed.—*Chicago Tribune, May* 10.

Democracy at Home

IF "the world is to be made a safe place for democracy," democracy must be safe first of all in America. No greater duty falls upon Americans now than to safeguard democracy at home.—*Indiana Unafraid Republican, May* 4.

One Estimate

INTERESTING and significant is the trend of equal suffrage eastward. Illinois was its first landing place east of the Mississippi; Ohio followed, and one of the New England states, Rhode Island, has granted presidential suffrage. The present outlook for the further spread of equal suffrage over the Eastern states is excellent. Several of them, including New York, will have an opportunity of voting on the question in November. Presidential suffrage should greatly accelerate desirable congressional action, and the Susan B. Anthony amendment, judging from all appearances, will receive favorable attention next winter.—*Christian Science Monitor, April* 26.

A Land of the Free

WOMEN in Russia shall have the same voting rights as men, according to the recommendations of the constituent assembly. The Russian idea of justice seems to go farther than it does in the "land of the free and the home of the brave."—*Miami, Florida, Metropolis, April* 21.

A Half-Democrat

WE are glad Mr. Root is going to Russia. He may get converted to full democracy there. But we must advise him against saying to Catherine Breshkovsky and the other returning exiles, as he has said so lightly to his own countrywomen: "Woman rules to-day by the sweet and noble influence of her character. Put woman into the arena of conflict and she abandons these great weapons which control the world, and she takes into her hands, feeble and nerveless for strife, weapons with which she is unfamiliar and which she is unable to wield."—*Alice Duer Miller in The New York Sunday Tribune, May* 5.

Sure to Arrive

THE gain of six states and 73 electoral votes in four months is more than prophecy—it is assurance that the sleepy, and slow old U. S. Senate and the more excitable House will be aroused to their own status in the near future. Congress is fully aroused to the fact that no political party in power or out of power can longer stem the tide of change and progress symbolized by an amendment to the U. S. constitution abolishing all legal discrimination against American women.

The quicker that this realization is accomplished the better for all concerned.

The women have found their power, they know the way. They are sure to arrive.—*Patriot Phalanx, May* 4.

Full and Universal Suffrage

AMERICAN women are not going to be satisfied with less than full suffrage. And throwing sops to the suffrage Cerberus is not going to dull its teeth one mite.—*Grand Rapids, Mich., Press, April* 19.

A Long Look Ahead

PICKETING the White House should be suspended, at least for a little while, when the season arrives for putting up preserves.—*Washington, D. C., Evening Star, April* 28.

Financial Report

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Total collected by National Headquarters	969.75
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST.....$230,376.57	
Total collected by National Headquarters through May 12, 1917.....	$231,346.32

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